REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget. Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (*Leave Blank*)	2. REPORT DATE March 1987	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE

Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa

5. FUNDING NUMBERS

6. AUTHOR(S)   LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Eunice Charles, Steven Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Mary Louis Harmon, Greta Holtz, Linda Lau, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, Patricia Rigsbee, Rachel Warner

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)

Federal Research Division
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540-4840

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)

N/A

10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER

19960827 073

11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Prepared under an Interagency Agreement

12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE

13. ABSTRACT (*Maximum 200 words*)

An annotated bibliography of open sources received. Entries on strategic military, political, and economic topics are included. Published monthly until September 1984 and quarterly thereafter.

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

14. SUBJECT TERMS

Africa--Sub-Sahara	Government
Military affairs	Politics
Economy	

15. NUMBER OF PAGES
Various lengths

16. PRICE CODE

17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT SAR

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

March 1987

Prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress
under an interagency agreement

PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Kate Bullard, Robert Handloff, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner.

Africa General

McGowan, Pat.   "Sixty Coups in Thirty Years--Further Evidence Regarding
     African Military Coups d'Etat." Journal of Modern African Studies,
     vol. 24, no. 3 (1986), pp. 539-46.

     McGowan supplements his 1984 study on coups in sub-Saharan Africa
     with current numerical data.   The most recent material underscores
     previous assertions made concerning sub-Saharan Africa, principally
     that the widespread incidence of coups is best explained by the fact
     that the post-colonial African state has not made the transition from
     underdeveloped agrarian society to newly industrialized   state.
     McGowan does not explain why instability perforce arises under such
     circumstances, nor does he explain why certain African countries like
     Ivory Coast have experienced relative stability without having
     undergone McGowan's rite of industrialization.   An appendix lists
     African military coups d'etat and attempted coups from January 1984
     to January 1986.

Rotberg, Robert.   "Africa, the Soviet Union, and the West".   In East-West
     Rivalry in the Third World. Edited by Robert W. Clawson.   Wilmington,
     Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1986, pp. 225-39.

     According to the author, the Soviet Union has forfeited its influence
     in Africa, and especially southern Africa, by a set of miserly
     assistance policies coupled with a pragmatic assessment of the limits
     of Soviet interests and power.   Because Moscow has pursued its
     policies "on the cheap," it has fostered cynicism among local
     populations.   Pro-Soviet   or   Marxist   indoctrination   among
     Africans--even- in   states   like   Ethiopia,   Angola,   and
     Mozambique--often remains shallow because of ineffectual Soviet
     policies or outright Russian racism.   Only because of the West's
     inextricable association with South Africa do many Africans continue
     to view the Soviet Union as both sympathetic to African interests
     and   overly   restrained.   .Somewhat contradictorily, Rotberg also
     insists that Africans seem to consider the price of Soviet assistance
     too costly, if Ethiopia or Angola are at all representative.   Thus,
     according to Rotberg,   the future of Soviet participation in Africa
     remains problematic.

East/Central Africa

Uganda

Mamdani, Mahmood.   Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda.   Trenton: Africa
     World Press, 1984, pp. 115

     This book asserts that the growth of fascist institutions in Uganda,
     which were fully exposed under Idi Amin and continued more or less
     unabated during Milton Obote's second presidency, date from
     pre-colonial times and were subsequently nurtured intentionally and

inadvertently during British colonial rule.   Employing a somewhat simplistic class analysis, the author suggests that the the chronic, structural contradictions of Ugandan society coupled with the role of international powers (notably Israel, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Libya) helped to consolidate Amin's regime. When faced with never ending crises of legitimacy, both Amin and Obote resorted to terror. The author, apparently convinced of the superpower's omnipotence or unwilling to accept African agency, concludes that the Amin regime, and presumably its immediate successors, were the brainchildren of Western interests and Soviet imperialism. The text does not explain this apparent contradiction.

Zaire

:avo, Jacques Vangu.   "The Causes of Shaba I and Shaba II Rebellions in Zaire During The Second Republic". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, June 1984.

This dissertation researches the causes of the two Shaba rebellions in Zaire by analyzing the various forces at play in the region and throughout Zaire.   The author investigates the role of ethnic rivalries, class structure, Mobutu's Africanization and Zairianization campaigns, and one-party government as factors contributing to political strife. Dinavo's study also sheds light on Zaire's current and somewhat shaky ties with other states in the region, and provides a useful, albeit cumbersome, guide for sorting out the various conflicting political, social, and economic interests in Zaire.

-enin, Otwin.   "United States' Aid to African Police Forces: The Experience and Impact of the Public Safety Assistance Programme." African Affairs, vol. 85 (October 1986), pp. 509-44.

Using Zaire as a case study, Marenin examines the Public Safety Assistance Program to Sub-Saharan Africa undertaken by the United States from 1954 to 1974, and assesses its impact on Zaire's police. The author concludes that at least in Zaire the programs have failed to achieve their goals or make any significant impact on local police forces.   To explain this failure, Marenin points to the following: little or no understanding of the political realities within the targeted countries, the small size of the program, conflicting and uncertain goals, and an exaggerated estimate of the capacity of outsiders to affect local implementation.

uza, Karl-I-Bond.   Un Avenir Pour le Zaire (A Future for Zaire). Brussels, Belgium: Vie Ouvriere, 1985, 154 pp.

The author, a former prime minister of Zaire and now its ambassador to the United States, succinctly and scathingly describes excesses of the earlier Mobutu government in which he served. After having tried

government, analyzes the consequences, and presents alternatives to
the present regime. Clearly his sympathies lie with the Zairian
majority which has had to endure Mobutuism, and whose lot he would
hope to ameliorate. His return to the fold raises questions of his
sincerity.

Nzongola-Ntalaja.   <u>The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities</u>.   Trenton:
    Africa World Press, Inc., 1986, 326 pp.

This volume, an inter-disciplinary collection of essays, analyzes the
protracted crisis in Zaire. The initial chapters, seeking simply to
explain the nature of a crisis which has persisted for more than 25
years, reveal a fundamental breakdown in and the persistent inadequacy
of Zaire's strategic institutions. The second section examines
variables contributing to the crisis, focusing on the role of the
state and the manner in which political regimes attempt to consolidate
and preserve control through paternalism and factionalism. The five
chapters in the third section -- perhaps the most interesting --
sympathetically look at various survival strategies elaborated
especially among rural populations for coping with the sheer
incompetence of the state and with an oppressive and demeaning
government. A fourth part, expanding the discussion of individual
survival strategies to the level of national policy, debates the
question of privatization versus state intervention in the economy.
The final chapters discuss the involvement of external powers --
primarily the United States, international organizations, and
transnational corporations -- in Zaire's crisis. The authors conclude
that insofar as Mobutu has met his obligations to the US Government
and most multinationals and has adequately represented their
interests, support for the current regime will continue. Ironically,
most opposition groups that have arisen in Zaire see little hope of
resolving Zaire's crisis without foreign involvement.

Horn

Ethiopia

Petterson, Donald.   "Ethiopia Abandoned? An American Perspective."
    International Affairs, vol. 62, no. 4 (Autumn 1986), pp. 627-45.

This article characterizes American/Ethiopian relations from the 1970s
to the present as a period of gradual deterioration due to the
changing political climate in Ethiopia and the US responses to those
changes. Major issues contributing to the US/Ethiopian estrangement
are: growing anti-American sentiment, widespread human rights abuse
allegations, an inability of the US Government to meet Ethiopia's
demands for military assistance, and promises of US military
assistance to Somalia. He concludes that there is small hope for
improved US/Ethiopian relations in the short term, but that long-term
improvements could and should be pursued.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY -- OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA   PAGE 4
(March 1987)

Indian Ocean

Seychelles

Hoare, Michael. The Seychelles Affair. London, Bantam Press, 1986,
    Reviewed in Africa Now,Dec. 1986, pp.16-17.

    Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, the former Congo mercenary, has written his
    own account of the failed coup d'etat, which he organized and sought
    to implement in the Seychelles in 1981. To excuse his failure, he
    points to South African stinginess. Although he initially sought a
    budget of $5 million, which he believed ample to undertake an
    amphibious landing with 200 well-supplied troops, Hoare wound up with
    only $250,000 and 50 mercenaries, who were forced to fly into the
    Seychelles on a commercial airliner. His account, albeit romanticized
    and self-serving, contains pertinent information on the involvement of
    the South African and Kenyan Governments in the coup attempt.

Southern Africa

Angola

Copson, Raymond W.   "Angola: Conflict Assessment and U.S. Policy Options."
    Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 8 December 1986,
    49 pp.

    This report assesses the likelihood of various possible outcomes in
    the Angolan civil war and reviews US policy options. The report first
    chronicles the history of the US military aid program to the National
    Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) since early 1986. A
    second section examines US interests in Angola from geo-strategic and
    regional perspectives. The author then includes parallel sections on
    UNITA and the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
    (MPLA), focusing on their respective histories, leadership,
    ideologies, strategies and tactics, and the extent of their internal
    and external support. The author concludes that neither UNITA nor the
    MPLA is likely to achieve a military victory in the foreseeable
    future, and that possibilities for a negotiated settlement are
    limited. Of greater likelihood is the prospect for a prolongation of
    the war with some risk of a spillover of the conflict into Zaire and
    Zambia. US policymakers are likely to continue to favor limited aid
    to UNITA, with possible attempts to facilitate a negotiated settlement
    of the conflict. As is required of CRS products, the author cannot
    use his insights to recommend a course of action.

Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay.   "The Angolan War: A Study in Regional
    Insecurity." The Jeruselum Journal of International Relations, vol.
    8, nos. 2-3 (1986), pp. 142-59.

    To explain regional insecurity in southern Africa, Klinghoffer uses
    the Angolan civil war and struggle for inedependence as a case study,

and argues that the causes of regional insecurity are usually internal. Conflict and insecurity spread only when extracontinental or neighboring states respond to requests for aid. Contributing to this pattern is the fact that Africa has few effective, regional security alliances. Klinghoffer concedes that artifacts of colonialism--artificial boundaries and competing micronationalisms, for example--have played a role in African conflict; however, he insists that contemporary conflicts have uniquely African roots and require African solutions. In the case of Angola, Klinghoffer claims (on highly questionable grounds) that the civil war--the internal conflict--had purely local causes and engulfed the region only as neighboring states provided logistic support and arms for the contesting parties. Apparently ignoring evidence that outside powers were contributing to Angolan factionalism as early as the mid-1950s, the author states that only with the outbreak of war were noncontiguous African and extracontinental states drawn into the struggle. Klinghoffer correctly concludes that non-African actors raise the level of weaponry and often subvert peaceful solutions for their own ends. Nonetheless, he suggests with seemingly naive innocence that it is the responsibility of African states to practice preventive medicine and establish their own regional security sytems to promote regional stability, perhaps even in the face of competing superpower interests.

Mozambique; South Africa

Metz, Steven. "The Mozambique National Resistance and South African Foreign Policy." African Affairs, vol. 85 (October 1986), pp. 491-507.

Over the past 5 years South Africa has pursued an increasingly aggressive approach toward its neighbors, including direct military incursions. However, in most instances, South Africa prefers methods short of direct intervention since they are less expensive in economic and political terms. One oft-used method is to fund, train, and support surrogate forces, which are subsequently used to destabilize targeted states. Among the most persistent and successful of these surrogates has been the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), which depends heavily on South Africa for arms and funding. Metz presents an in-depth examination of RENAMO and its manipulation by South Africa. He concludes with the opinion that no one in the South African political or defense apparatus ever believed that RENAMO would overthrow the Mozambican Government, but instead meant for RENAMO to exert political pressure on the government. Metz asserts that South Africa will continue to make use of highly dependent RENAMO-type movements rather than movements like the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which South Africa also supports, but which has its own agenda and separate arms suppliers, and so is less malleable.

South Africa

Campbell, Kurt M.   Soviet Policy Towards South Africa.   New York: St.
     Martin's Press, 1987, 223 pp.

     The book provides a history of the Soviet Union's involvement with
     South Africa and analyzes the formulation and execution of Soviet
     foreign policy in the region.   The study covers state, party, and
     commercial contacts between the Soviet Union and South Africa.   By
     attempting to explain the complex motivations driving Soviet actions,
     this book effectively challenges the prevailing opinion of the South
     African and current US Governments concerning Soviet aspirations in
     southern Africa. It suggests that instead of a grand strategy for
     "total onslaught" in southern Africa, Soviet foreign policy is both
     revolutionary in its support for national liberation, but cautious in
     its desire to avoid a major commitment in the region.   The author
     concludes that the Soviets perceive developments in southern Africa
     to be peripheral to Soviet national interests.

de St. Jorre, John.   "South Africa Embattled."   Foreign Affairs, vol. 65,
     no. 3 (1987), pp. 538-63.

     This article reviews events in South Africa since September 1984 when
     the current dissent in the black community erupted into violence, and
     analyzes US policy toward South Africa and its effect on South
     African politics.   The author states that Pretoria clearly has not
     yet been able to crush dissent and restore the relative calm that
     prevailed in the country before September 1984. Meanwhile, in the
     United States, a process of disengagement seems to be under way with
     the signing of the Anti-Apartheid Act in October 1986 and the
     withdrawal of major US companies from South Africa.   The author
     concludes that the United States should assume the high moral ground
     and accept the reality of sanctions against South Africa. While they
     will not bring South Africa to its knees, the author claims, it will
     raise the cost of maintaining apartheid.

Maull, Hanns W.   "Les mineraux sud-africains: talon d'Achille de la
     securite economique occidentale (South African Minerals: Achilles
     Heel of Western Economic Security)."   Politique Etrangere, 2, Spring
     1986, pp. 515-526.

     In an attempt to assess the West's dependency on South Africa's
     strategic minerals (chrome, manganese, vanadium, and platinum group
     metals), the author breaks the larger question into three subordinate
     issues examining the importance of South Africa's supplies to Western
     economies, the extent to which those economies are vulnerable to
     major cuts in supplies, and the probability and nature of any
     cutbacks. In the course of his case by case analysis for each
     mineral, the author makes the distinction, often ignored elsewhere,
     between the problem of market dependency, which he maintains can be
     resolved by market forces, and the far more serious problem resulting
     from supply cuts, which he labels vulnerability and which would
     entail massive political, economic, and social costs. Maull concludes
     that all Western economies are more or less dependant on South

African supplies given the wish to maintain current price levels. But
he also believes that the West is not vulnerable insofar as the
higher prices engendered by supply interruptions would lead to
recycling, substitutions, and the exploitation of alternate sources.
Meanwhile, there is no question in the author's mind that cutbacks in
South Africa's supplies will come, most likely as a result of
violence and sabotage rather than in the form of boycotts or
counter-sanctions by the Pretoria government. To prepare, he counsels
stockpiling, which, of all Western economies, only the United States
seems to be taking seriously.

Walters, Ronald W.   South Africa and the Bomb.   Lexington, Massachusetts:
    Lexington Books, 1987, 176 pp.

In this detailed and exhaustive study of South Africa's policies and
capabilities in the area of nuclear energy, the author begins with
the premise that South Africa is following a policy of "ambiguous
proliferation," straddling the threshold of nuclear capabiliity which
divides peaceful from military uses of nuclear power. It could very
quickly cross this threshhold if the internal security crisis leads
to an external crisis. As part of his agenda, the author suggests
that the magnitude of the challenge to the regime, whether real or
perceived, should elicit serious concern, not only with
nonproliferation, but with how South Africa might be prevented from
employing nuclear weapons in southern Africa or elsewhere. The
chapters cover the failure of the nonproliferation treaty, nuclear
weapons capability, nuclear weapons testing, politico-military
scenarios, the development of US nuclear relations with South Africa,
constructive nuclear engagement, and global implications of Western
nuclear assistance and commerce. The author concludes that only by
ending apartheid, resolving the Namibian dispute, and halting South
Africa's campaign of destabilization can the major powers absolutely
prevent the use of nuclear weapons against virtually unarmed
populations in southern Africa.